538 /27 cont./ related that I Maipa was the daughter of the Sultan of Sumbawa. As such, however, she was of nobler blood than Datu Museng, and their marriage was thus likewise a forbidden tie. Matthes, [113] Makassaarsche Chrestomathie /Makassarese Chrestomathy/, 1883: "Aanteekeningen," p. 88.

singers (pakeso'keso') (3).

[533 534] 3. A singer who accompanies himself on a two-stringed violin (keso'keso').

593 In daily life the brother is, in the very first instance, the protector of his sister as a young girl. He is for her the "strong wall," as the verse says (4). He likes to accompany

4. See Chapter III, p. 297.

her and the older women when they pay visits to kinsmen living elsewhere. He is the one who reacts first in case she is siri'; this is as much as to say that he immediately starts the pursuit and stabs if she should want to flee. He carries her [585] as a bride out of the back rooms where she was dressed to the bridal bed in the front room. He is proud of her and of the fact that he may protect her.

601 The /nuclear/ family is clearly reflected in the kinship terminology (see list). It is apparent that only the members of the /nuclear/ family are indicated by individual terms and that for the rest the terminology makes distinctions only between generations. The distinctions made in ego's own generation,

158 /56 cont./ According to reports, adults are also subject
626 to such attacks, however, I never witnessed this. To be sure, an adult sometimes uses it as a threat, for instance, when he (she) has set his (her) mind on something that seems unattainable. A woman from Macassar who had caused a drum (ganrang) to be played at a festival of her kin group in Goa was questioned about this by the kapalakampong /kampong head/ concerned, since playing the ganrang is a prerogative of the nobility in Goa. She threatened with adjallo' if the use of the drum should be forbidden her, and finally a decision was made that the drum could be played because she did not live in Goa and at home in Macassar she was allowed to play the ganrang.

[533 565]

In Macassar a girl who was sixteen years old and still at school threatened adjallo' because she wanted to continue attending school in spite of obvious disapproval on the part of her mother and aunts. A man arranged his second marriage behind the back of his first wife because, as he said, he was afraid that she would adjallo' and in so doing might well prevent his second marriage if she heard about it beforehand.

The reaction of others to such fits of temper was one of aversion. People turned away; no one made an attempt to help, nor did anyone appear angry. It was believed that nothing could be done about it.

158 Both phenomena, mobility and adjallo', in my opinion
578 should be regarded as expressions of a conflict for which the individual sees no other solution, a conflict which is based on personality structure. It was impossible for me to do any further investigation along these lines. The fact that both sexes participate in mobility to the same extent might suggest the /57/ necessity for an analysis of the "basic personality structure" /cited in English/ (1) of the Makassarese.

1. For this term see A. Kardiner, most recently in The Psychological Frontiers of Society, New York, 1945.

612 /64 cont./ is likewise made between the offering presented
778 to the ancestors in the attic and that which -- on the occasion
184 of the same festival -- is delivered into the water. At a
796 festival in the Kapala group the numbers were 6 and 7 respectively.

The Rojong Song

● 533 The rojong song constitutes another significant element
796 of the ritual. Old women hum the sounds unintelligibly and monotonously; the exact words frequently are not known to them. This song occurs at wedding feasts and other important solemnities in the related group, and it is coupled with the beating of drums (ganrang). The rojong song recorded in Borongloë before the war has disappeared. The woman who gave it to me was overcome by all kinds of misfortune. She was not prepared to repeat it to me.

Food Taboos

612 In a single related group there is awareness, however
262 feeble, that the members of the group may not eat a certain animal (2). In Goa it is still generally known, perhaps,

2. Dr. Chr. Nooteboom drew my attention to this phenomenon for the first time in 1939.

that the members of the karaëng group (the nobility) may not eat the meat of the white buffalo.

In the related group of the head of the Borongloë adat community the realization faintly continues that a certain type of eel may not be eaten. To explain this the following
773 story is told: A woman who had violated a prohibition was
612 punished for this with the task of carrying water in a basket
262 from the river to a certain place. The basket, however, did

177 /147 cont./ store, the Arab and Chinese storekeepers in
834 Macassar know that they cannot turn directly to the young girls to recommend their wares but that, for this purpose, they have to address the escorting man or older woman, while the younger ones talk among each other and thus make their wishes known. One who does not take these feelings into account runs the risk of being passed over at a subsequent visit to the store.

571 The separate domains of the sexes in the house and the
834 division of labor contribute to the fact that the prohibition against contact is carried out to a great extent in daily life. The strict sanction imposed on their violation lends a forced
[626] character to the relations between young men and girls. Contact may only take place in complete secrecy or, by way of exception, if it is expressly or silently permitted. In that case it is still tied to special regulations. There is never any uninhibited association. Some of these occasions will be described here.

527 After harvest, so-called pounding festivals (1) are
571

1. Called Adengka ase lolo, "the pounding of the young paddy."

[374] regularly held. These take place during the evening in the yard before the house by the /148/ glimmer of an oil lamp, preferably when there is a bright moon shining. For this, the pounding block is hung up in rattan strings, and while
[533 the girls pound, two or three of their closest male relatives
534] beat with sticks against the transverse axle of the block in a rapid and powerful rhythm. This sound is audible at great distances; the purpose is to attract young people from far and near to come and look. What they see is four girls

838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see
Geneeskundig Tijdschrift
voor Nederlandsch Indië,
Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 548 Kawe kawe can be encountered in Macassar and in the large pasar places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes who make themselves available in exchange for money for the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior had a position analagous to that of Taking. They elected to live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

[178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place as bissu at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as male prostitutes.

535 857 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for [534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (rabana) and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time [533] they sing the little four-line verses (kelong) which are customary between young men and women. In this dance they are to a certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded [838] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a [832] kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 535 838 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a

585 /179 cont./ expression. At the moment, so important for the
826 individual, when he meets his marriage partner, "the eye and
832 its environment" must be as good as possible, as one informant expressed it. /180/

585 Awaiting the Karuntigi Leaves

Awaiting the karuntigi leaves (amatamata karuntigi) (1) is,

1. B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 246.

in the first place, regarded as an important social event. On this occasion the bride (and likewise the bridegroom, each in his own house) sits on the wedding bed. It is the eve of the Moslem wedding. Many guests are present. Next to the bride a sister or cousin, as well as the bride's mother and a number of other older women are seated. All of them are in festive dress. They help the bride, fan her with cool air, move a hand, place a leg differently, or change the position of her head, so that she will not get any cramps in these parts of her body. For a bride must remain seated passively, completely immobile, and
[534] with downcast eyes. The incense vessels burns, the drums are
533] beaten, and rojong songs are hummed. Before her stand a number of little bowls. One of these contains the finely cut leaves of the karuntigi (2), a second contains oil, a third powder,

[824]
[822]

2. The leaves, it is always stated, are of a reddish color. Red is the color of fire and life. Personally, I have never been able to observe anything but an ordinary green color. The leaves are chewed beforehand.

and a fourth water.

noticeable in the Kepala kampong's house. Here everything had an official air about it. He is perhaps a good man to get to know better, to see to what extent he would get the United States idea. For example, how would the Truman story go over with him? We talked stiffly (was it my fault?) and the whole thing was not too impressive. (I later found out that he is a Dutch speaker too) He spoke only Malay. I wonder if the presence of Rahim, obviously a superior in essentials, might have thrown him off? I have plenty to talk about to Rahim. M 156 609

I saw for the first time the ramp [instead of stairs, a noble has a sloping ramp made of woven bamboo--Analyst] of the superiors. The Kepala kampong had one. Note, however, that the Imam had none. All through Makassarese and Buginese lands there are many such ramps. I almost fell down the one at the Kepala kampong's place. I might ask him why he keeps such a thing when steps are so much better. M 565 342 554

At the Karaëng's place I found out what the name for sociology in Indonesian is. Rahim tried very hard, and finally said "ilmu bangsa-bangsa". I 192

I asked Rahim about the Karaëng. He said that they went to school together and played football, [i.e., soccer] but as they grew older this intimate relationship was not continued. Now they must observe the adat. My guess is that the Karaëng knows now that Rahim is a better man. One thing Rahim said quite often was that they were quite proud of him in this area because he has gone so far. That in itself is a very interesting thing, and perhaps this fellow is almost the most important in South Celebes. M 156 554

I went back to the Karaëng's office at noon. I will give copies of my questions to the Karaëng as well as to the Kepala kampong. Rahim said that the Karaëng was ana tino [i.e., the pure children of the highest Makassarese nobles--Analyst] as I remember it. He is not one of the bate selapang [i.e., the nine electors of Goa--Analyst] as I first thought. M 124 565

The assistant will get to work Thursday, and I will return here August 28th to work with him. M 124

Field trip to the Makale region [Sadang country]: I started Wednesday, August 17th, from Makassar. The road north to Parepare is very good. The Buginese villages are much the same in appearance as the Makassarese ones. In Parepare, which is a big place and about half way to Makale, the plaza was filled with people and there was a parade going on. There were some men marching, but most of the participants were M 541 533 177

M 541 ●533 177 school children with their teachers. I noticed much lining up in schoolyards also. Is this Dutch or Japanese? One group had a band. There were a few, poorly made, little drums--possibly home made--and a number of bamboo flutes. The playing was not bad.

C 485 133 Parepare is on the coast and has a fine bay. There are many rivers along this bay and at each one finds many praus. Some are rather large and are tied up near the road bridge for evidently they cannot go further inland. From Parepare I went north to Pinrang where the road turns inland and begins to worsen. Then I went on to Rappang where the slope of the land begins to rise gently and where the road has no surfacing but many loose stones. There was not much traffic. I went on to Enrekang which is quite high up and is fairly large. There is a pasanggrahan [government rest house] on a hill, and beneath it plenty of white government buildings. I had a miserable meal of fried rice, eggs, and awful coffee. It cost me f.3, which was too much. When taking a picture of flying foxes hanging in the trees, I dropped and broke my polaroid exposure meter here. There are thousands of these flying foxes in the trees, making a terrific noise. They evidently scream all day in crowds while hanging upside down with their leathery wings folded. They looked fantastic through the glasses. They are big with furry bodies, and with faces and heads almost looking like bears. Horrible! Later a woman in the Makale pasanggrahan said that they smell awful too.

C 136

000 The jeep and everything in it was now covered with dust which seeps in everywhere. After Enrekang I went up into the hills to Kalosi and here it is really high up. I thought that this was already Toradja country here, but later a girl told me that I was mistaken and that the local people are still Buginese. I noticed that there was a wide area, almost uninhabited, between the Buginese lowland and the Toradja mountains. Finally I arrived in Makale and went to the pasanggrahan which appeared to be quite good. I got the single room, ate, drank, and talked with two Dutch couples until 11 P.M. when the lights go out. One woman who was quite pretty said she was born in Medan and went to school in Batavia. She had been only twice to Holland, and then not for very long. She said that this is her country.

In the morning I talked with one of the men. He was formerly a controleur in West Borneo, and was now starting the same program in Makale. He said, however, that he had no power and felt quite frustrated. He said that the economic

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, and the like brought up further questions. 000 [838] 304 881 574 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them. 565 562

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts. 527 574 548 435 567 535

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident. 554 565

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. [obligations reflecting respect for higher rank] 178 466 622 565

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a feast. 533

342 574 852 565 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the feast house and so we went there. There they were with much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes], and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor. I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouth-wash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

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535 533 [292] Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes. Three were in red and four in black. And they were very pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang.

535 567 565

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
565 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly, but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split, 80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam, but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too. These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys, who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indonesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district). After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I remarked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur. And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a remarkable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in